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SOURCE Nowe Drogi, Vol VII, No 3(45), 1953.

THE CONSONANCE OF POLISH NATIONALISM
 AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

The following information is taken from one of the commentaries made by dignitaries of the PZPR (United Polish Workers' Party) at the Eighth Plenum of its Central Committee, held 28 March 1953. Each of the commentaries, given in abridged form in Nowe Drogi, is an amplification of Bierut's keynote address.

In this commentary, Jerzy Tepicht, director of the Institute of Farm Economy (Instytut Ekonomiki Rolnej), warns against the pitfalls of nationalism and social democratism in the thinking of party members.

Nobody but Stalin could explain the national question in all its fullness and importance. In his development of the Leninist legacy of this matter, Comrade Stalin derided and exposed such slaves of imperialism as Kautsky who extolled colonial politics, predicted the end of the Czech nation, etc. Stalin wrote: "... I opposed such people as Kautsky, who always was and continued to be a dilettante on the national question, who did not understand the mechanism of the development of nations, and who did not have any conception of the colossal strength of the stability of nations."

Stalin pointed out the powerful unified strength that the oppressed nations constitute in the proletariat's struggle to overthrow capitalism. He pointed out and proved in practice how great a creative force can be drawn out of nations liberated by the leadership of the working class. Stalin gave us an analysis of the process in which the bourgeoisie inevitably transforms itself into a class of hagglers and traitors, and the working class takes on the responsibility of carrying the banner betrayed by the bourgeoisie.

Stalinist teachings contrasted national destinies under conditions of capitalism and of socialism and pointed to the inevitable conflicts, under capitalist conditions, between the development of the world market and national markets. Capitalism strives to resolve these contradictions by means of war, conquest, and suppression of developing young nations, and, finally, it is now also suppressing some of the oldest established bourgeois nations.

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Kautsky wrote that colonial conquests, which extend the rule of capitalism, simultaneously and automatically are hastening the end of capitalism, and therefore -- according to him -- "The proletariat should be only too happy that the bourgeoisie will accomplish this dirty work for it." This repulsive example of a principle which sinks to the service of imperialism, according to Stalin, makes a fetish of objective laws. This principle is an example of how alleged objectivity is the enemy of objective truth. Objective truth cannot be found in isolated "pure economic" studies which lead to the warping of truth and to false conclusions. The truth lies in relating economic truths to living people, to the classes, and to the struggle of the proletariat without which there could be no overthrow of capitalism.

Socialism has proved, first within the framework of the USSR, that nations which until recently were kept suppressed, can, with the help of an enterprising nation, better themselves rapidly, catch up with it, and together with it surpass the most developed capitalist countries. Thus, we may note that the percentage of students today in Uzbekistan is twice as high as that of France, and in Kirgizia twice as high as that of Italy, while the Soviet Ukraine produces three times as many tractors as France and Italy combined. Here is living proof of the validity of Stalin's theory, proof given by the application of Stalin's nationalities policies. Here is an example of the creative force of socialism strengthening the bond of free and equal nations. Here is a new role in history which the Russian nation has filled in relation to the nations once oppressed by Tsardom, whereby it has won the term of "big brother."

Today, Stalin's teachings that only socialism can unite two irreconcilable tendencies within capitalism have again been confirmed in the international relations of nations constituting the socialist world market. Let us look at Stalin's comparison of the two world markets in his work, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR." On the one hand, there are aggravated frictions, and on the other growing political and economic integration. On the one hand, there is the struggle for supremacy by the empire that is the most powerful in the midst of the degradation of other nations, while on the other hand there is mutual aid toward the goal set by the leading socialist nations. On the one hand, there is the ideology of cosmopolitanism, imperialistic aggression, and the surrender of national sovereignty, while on the other hand there is the full economic, political, and cultural development of nations. On the one hand, there are the increasingly bitter manifestations of competition and anarchy, based on the operation of the basic economic law of present-day capitalism and as a consequence of which there are the inevitable wars, while on the other hand there is the fraternal, planned cooperation and the absolute impossibility of war between the nations of the socialist world market.

Is there any need for more conclusive proof that a nation cannot remain truly independent in this age unless it is on the road to socialism? Is there any need for a further illustration of Stalin's words that only the victory of socialism can finally end wars? This is the new meaning, in this new age, of Stalin's teachings on the unity of interests of national independence with those of the socialist revolution. These are the facts that point to the truth that he serves the interests of his nation best who binds them closely to the interests of the camp of socialism and peace, i.e., to the USSR.

Stalin always taught that Soviet patriotism was inseparably bound to international assistance to working people all over the world. He taught this when it was necessary to build a powerful Soviet industry through toil and hunger. He taught this when it was necessary to liberate the Polish, Czechoslovak, Rumanian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Albanian, and Yugoslav people with the blood of the Soviet people. He taught this in his last speech and pointed out also how magnificently the French and Italian Communists were tying their patriotism to internationalism and were combating the anti-Soviet plots of imperialism.

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In the light of this and in the light of today's directives of Comrade Bierut, the following serious ideological task faces us: to clear out all remnants of nationalism, or Pilsudski-ism, the political lever of the PPS (Polish Socialist Party). We must eliminate the remaining traces of reconciliation with the remnants of PPS nationalism and social democratism, with all manifestations of Gomulka-ism which tried to adulterate and warp the ideological traditions and the ideological line of our party and thereby to create a bridge of gold into our ranks for the many foreign and enemy elements from the WRN (Wolnosc, Rownosc, Niepodleglosc, Freedom, Equality, and Independence) or the Pilsudski regime.

The traditions of the former PPS, which grew directly out of Pilsudski-ism, had nothing in common with patriotism. Under a cloak of patriotism was hidden the policy of serving German and Austrian imperialists. Under the foreign policy slogan of the PPS leaders, "As far as possible from Russia," was hidden the bourgeoisie's desire to isolate itself as much as possible from the growing popularity of the proletarian revolution in the Tsarist state. These policies aroused distrust for a long time and sometimes even frank aversion among the minor PPS workers, as manifested by the cynical letter written by Pilsudski in 1893 to the editor of the PPS publication, Przedswit. Pilsudski wrote: "The position of the Przedswit is not popular with many factions here; they claim that it is rapidly tending toward patriotic radicalism and is abandoning its class position more and more. Be careful to emphasize this position in order not to lose respect completely in a rather wide circle of factions who are more Marxist than Marx himself."

Gomulka-ism attempted to base the ideology of our party on a platform which would incorporate these traditions. It was a policy of "national unity" not in the spirit of our party and not under the leadership of the working class for which Comrade Rierut fought. This policy of so-called national unity without a class struggle and therefore under the hegemony of the bourgeoisie was common to all nationalists. This unity was marked by self-abasement before unrestrained development of capitalist elements and before the theory of the "development without conflict of sectors" which denied the objective law of increased conflict and sharpened class struggle. This was a unity characterized by the exclusion of the village from socialist transformation and by a basically separate Polish road to socialism, the goal of which was to deprive the Polish working class of that infallible banner defined by Stalin as the concentrated experience of the international workers movement. It planned to cut the Polish working class away from this progress and from the historic experiences of the Soviet revolution in the name of the "Polish Road" theory, which under the pretense of a "third way" was preparing the treacherous foundations for the restoration of capitalism and the return to imperialist slavery. This policy then would proceed, under the guise of "national unity," to the slogan of Poland as the "bridge between the West and the East," i.e., a bridge for the friends of Attlee, Stafford Cripps, and agents of British intelligence such as Zilliacus.

On the basis of this "bridge" idea, an attempt was made to import from the West the anti-Marxist theory of socialist humanism, which attempted to obstruct the building of socialism under the false and hypocritical slogan of: "Not a single generation to be devoted to the betterment of future generations." This slogan -- a flower of the Philistinism of the West's rotting bureaucracy -- was eagerly snatched up by all the reactionary bigots. Moreover, so that there would be no mistake about whom this appeal was directed at, articles were written in the Przegląd Socjalistyczny (Socialist Review) which stated that the degree of socialist development is not measured by the number and degree of socialized enterprises but by the degree of "personal liberty," which openly included the liberty of so-called private business.

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Today every intelligent worker, peasant, and white-collar worker knows that the fight against the efforts of the nation to build its socialist industry is a fight against the foundations of our independence. Not everyone knows, however, that the theories of the social democratic Philistines originate from those same vipers who in the face of the Hitlerite threat to the West spread the cowardly slogan of "slavery rather than death" throughout the bourgeois West. These are the same ones who today are meekly bearing the US occupation, circulating the cosmopolitan slogan of abandonment of national rights, and trying to push millions of western youths into war and death.

These things must become known so that no vipers, no residue of the WRN or other alien agencies can weaken the will of the working class or the will of the great masses of the people to strengthen independence and develop the strength of the peace camp. Our nation, the foreign policy of which is based on the proud words of Comrade Bierut that "Poland has ceased to be a weak, defenseless, and awkward nation," knows the reason for its daily efforts and knows what the alliance with the USSR means to it.

This knowledge must be deepened. Now, when thousands of the most sacrificing patriots are joining the party, the whole wealth of Stalinist teachings on nations, the role of the working class in the nation, the creation of socialist nations, and the harmony of patriotism and internationalism must be brought to the party masses. A clear and forthright critique of enemy theories must be conducted without harmful reconciliation with the remnants of nationalism, without cosmopolitan browbeating before the West, and without the use of the social democratic slogans handed down to us.

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